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in front of the house. This is an innovation, for originally boiling was unknown to any of the Timbira, who probably cooked on the spit or in the ashes at the fires by their camp sites. Borrowed from the Neobrazilians along with the cooking pots, these fireplaces are always under the roof. Finally, there is the earth oven (*kíyáq*), invariably, whether in the village or in an encampment, several meters behind the dwelling and toward the open steppe except for certain special ceremonies, when it must be constructed in front of the houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. When not in use, the oven appears as an ugly hodge-podge of rocks, dug-up earth, charred logs, leaves, and old mats. It is common to all Timbira tribes.

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The fireplaces of the age classes in the plaza do not serve for the preparation of food.

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If a fire should go out nowadays and there is no neighbor from whom one could borrow a brand, the Indians strike fire with the Neobrazilian strike-a-light consisting of the tip of a cow horn, steel, and flint, with charred cotton for tinder. However, everybody is still familiar with the old drill (*raq'ra*) composed of two urucú staves. The drill itself is about $\frac{1}{2}$ -m. long, somewhat less than a finger's breadth, and terminates in a blunt point. The hearth is about of the same length and somewhat thicker. The pit of the hearth has a lateral groove, which, however, is sometimes lacking. (Fig. 2.) The driller sits down and presses the hearth against the ground with his feet (pl. 5, c). On trips to the plantations or to catch fish in the brook at night it is customary to take along firebrands.

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For blowing the fire into a flame the Indians use a fire fan (*kapë'rčá*), that is, a quadrangular or hexagonal little mat of babassu, anajá, or bacaba palm grass (pl. 12, a). Occasionally it may also serve as a seat, for shoveling away offal, or for covering a pot.

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It is the women's duty to fetch firewood, and usually one will invite another to join her. But should there be a large, dry log that is too heavy, a man will often do the carrying.

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The origin of fire is explained in a myth which I have recorded with only minor variations among the Rámkō'kamakra, Krëyé of Bacabal, Apinayé, and Serénte.¹²²

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Special structures.—Apart from ceremonial huts, which are always removed after the festive season, I observed the following structures in Ponto. Somewhat behind and on one side of the house inhabited by the widowed chief Kukrãq' and his kinswomen there stood under a roof (*fornyúkwa*; from Portuguese *forno*, roasting pan) a huge copper roasting pan for the preparation of manioc flour; it rested on four wooden legs driven into the ground. The chief had received it as a gift from an Indian friend some twenty-five years ago. It was used by all the villagers, who in return gave the chief some of the flour they prepared. In Pedra

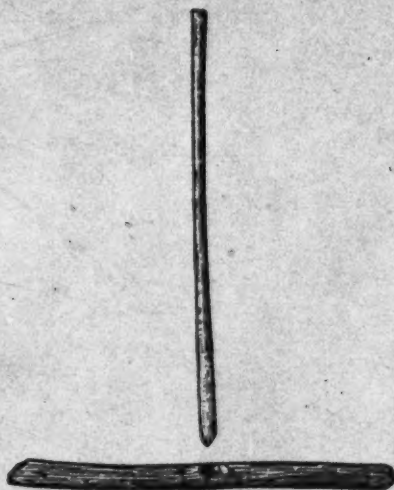


Fig. 2. Fire drill. $\frac{1}{4}$ nat. size.

¹²² Nimuendajá, *The Apinayé*, 154 et seq., 1939.

44 University of California Publications in Am. Arch. and Ethn.

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343 437 Branca (pl. 1, a) the Krahô' had a similar hut, which stood about three hundred meters behind the circle of houses.

343 343 Several Indians engaged in pig breeding had erected well-built roofs 2 m. square under which the beasts could sleep in bad weather if they so chose; they were not forcibly enclosed there. The tame taitetú pigs always used for ceremonial slaughter at certain festivities are kept in cages 1 m. high, which the owners generally put up in front of their houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. A cage consists of upright poles roofed with palm fronds.

343 235 The few Indians who raise fowls keep them behind the dwelling in little gable roofs resting directly on the ground and constructed of poles, pieces of bark, and old mats. At night they are barred with pieces of wood. The structure, like the poultry itself, was borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

177 345 The exceptional little stall for strangers which the Apá'nyekra put up in Porquinhos has been mentioned (p. 40). No Timbira tribe has a men's or bachelors' house corresponding to the warã of the Akwê-Serênte.³ Meetings are held in the plaza outdoors, which is also the general sleeping place of the young men.

342 361 Away from the village the Rãmkô'kamekra, so far as they require any form of shelter, erect the following forms of hut. If the cultivated plots are far away, a hut is put up for the period that requires the owners' presence. Such a structure is not erected in the plantation itself, but in the steppe in front of the *galeris* forest. Usually it is rectangular and gable-roofed, smaller and less massive than the fixed dwellings. However, occasionally the old beehive type (ikré yiróno) occurs—a hemispherical form about 1.80 m. in height inside. The framework consists of eight or more thin trunks stuck into the ground in a circle and bent together at the top, the branches being interlaced into walls, or—rarely—tied together. There are no special horizontal hoops. This skeleton is covered round about with palm fronds, their tips up, their ribs in vertical position; other fronds are laid on top crisscross. This shelter, if carefully set up, is altogether rainproof except for some leakage at the bottom. On one side there is left an entrance 1½ m. in height.

Similar, but as a rule less carefully built, are the huts of temporary encampments, such as all the steppe Timbira erect when large companies of them are hunting or away for some special task. In that case the arrangement of the huts is uniformly circular, all doors facing the center, and the female owners observe the same order that prevails in the village. These huts are made exclusively by the women; even men who camp beyond the settlement without their families never erect such structures (pl. 7, a).

174 342 361 The question now arises: Did the Timbira originally have only such beehive huts or did they have larger, substantial dwellings in their fixed villages? Several facts support the latter alternative. The beehive huts cannot accommodate either the regular platform beds or the elevated compartments of the young girls, or an extended family. Further, it would be impossible to shelter the boys in a single house on the east or west side during the first stage of initiation, for even in 1930 there were twice sixteen novices among the Rãmkô'kamekra, and the number was doubtless larger in former times. It would be equally impossible to put up a special cell in a beehive hut for one or more boys at the terminal phase of initiation. Moreover, a beehive hut could not serve as the meeting place of any of the festive societies, with their membership ranging from 15 to 30; and to an even greater extent does the vq'té' institution (p. 92) require large houses, for in 1933 the number of men who assembled was 54 and 57, respectively. I am convinced that if all these cere-

³ Nimuendajú and Lewis, 408.

302 Further, it is necessary to correct some errors that have crept into the literature
114 concerning Timbira hairdressing. Notwithstanding assertions by Kissenberth and
765 Snethlage,²² who oddly agree on this, the Canella never cut their hair in mourning;
the exact contrary holds, as demonstrated in plate 7, b. Moreover, as proved by
dozens of my pictures, women and children dress the hair in exactly the same fash-
ion as the men; Snethlage thus errs in declaring that they merely comb their hair
away from the face or cut it above the forehead. Oil paintings by the Dutch artist
Eckhout which are in the National Museum of Copenhagen suggest that the Otah-
kayana of Rio Grande do Norte also wore the hair furrow in the seventeenth cen-
[301] tury. (See pl. 21.) The occipital hair of the Timbira is never braided into a pigtail;
a little grass fanlike ornament (hivakú) (pl. 20, b) merely serves to ligature the
bunch of occipital hair. A person with very long hair may gather it together, lay
the tip up on the back of the head, and secure it there with string. However, this
custom—like the use of the hivakú—is peculiar to men about to engage in a par-
ticularly difficult undertaking—formerly, above all when going to battle; and as
soon as anyone is seen indulging in the practice he is immediately questioned by
everybody as to his plans.

302 No man's hair is cut by another. The task devolves primarily on his mother, his
• 462 sisters, female cousins and nieces; his wife may tend to the matter provided it is
177 not a ceremonial cut at the close of a period of mourning or seclusion. Because of
this rule men who have been away for a long time have the furrow completely
obliterated by the new growth of hair. On their begging trips, however, they usually
fall into the hands of some civilized barber who spoils their coiffure for the period
of several months.

302 No attention is paid to the clipped hair, which they either allow to lie about or
throw on the garbage, for the Eastern Timbira and the Apinayé do not share the
widespread Indian belief that fragments severed from the body can be used in sor-
cery. On the other hand, the Ramkô'kamekra believe that a person who has secured
[832] another's hair from the temples thereby is certain of being loved by him or her,
for which reason such hair is sometimes clipped clandestinely. The hair cut from
women's occiputs at certain festivals is united in a long bundle and hung on a
tree in front of the village, whence I was able to carry it off at will. Several times
I received the present of a neck-and-forehead ornament consisting of hair tufts
mounted brushlike in feather quills or small bamboo tubes.

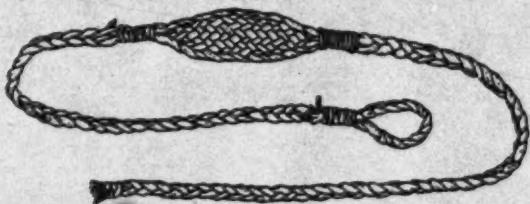
[804] The Canella have double combs (koiké) composed of little rods (pl. 20, a), but
303 today they serve only ceremonial purposes; a norm based on the length of the rods
177 is used in the manufacturing. For practical purposes these combs have been super-
321 seded by those of European and Neobrazilian make, but several men, for example,
chief Ropka', are themselves able to produce such modern combs out of horn, and
these prove far more durable than the purchased articles, which very soon lose their
times in the thick Indian hair.

302 The people pay a fair amount of attention to their hair. They wash it while bath-
303 ing by rubbing it between the palms of their hands, and oil it with the oleaginous
juice of chewed babassu seeds, which is spat into their hands and then rubbed on
the hair. The very greasy beetle larvae that live within the seeds are crushed between
the palms and then also used for oiling the hair. Head lice (ikó) occur, especially
among children, but have long ceased to be general. I am positive that a consider-
562 able number of adults lack them. Anyone becoming aware of lice has his wife or
some kinswoman look for them; this person puts them on the palm of her hands.

²² Kissenberth, *Bei den Canella-Indianern*, 48. Snethlage, *Nordostbras. Ind.*, 143.

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[541] taneously own plots in two separate sites. Boundaries between the plantations of different owners are generally marked by rows of maize plants. The size of a plot depends on the tree-feller's industry. One hectare (not quite two and a half acres) is probably the minimum for a single family, many owning double that area, but estimates are difficult because the form is never regular. Pohl sets the diameter of a Pörekamekra extended family's farm at one hundred fathoms—a somewhat smaller estimate. The yield naturally hinges by no means exclusively on the extent of the clearing and the number of plants, but very largely on the care bestowed on them. In this respect the Eastern Timbira are often incredibly negligent. To be sure, many families violently exert themselves in felling timber and planting their crops, so that they could well harvest far more than the needs of subsistence. But after this initial effort they pay little attention, so that the farm goes to rack and ruin. There is no such personal sentimental bond between cultivated plants and their owner as I discovered among the Apinayé.¹⁰⁰

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241 Both sexes jointly plant, weeding is almost wholly a feminine job, harvesting exclusively so. No man will ever haul a carrying-basket with fruits; at most he may

Fig. 4. Sling. $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.

[177] carry a few maize cobs or tubers in his hands. At the time of maturation swarms of dwarf parrots attack the plantations, which are mostly guarded by the bigger boys, armed with slings (fig. 4) or, more rarely, with pellet bows (pl. 15, a) borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

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241 Except where the plots of the steppe Timbira adjoin impenetrable riparian forests they are protected by coarse, heavy fences made of logs resting on forked supports. These enclosures are to shut out not, as Snethlage supposed, game animals, but rather the cattle of neighboring ranchers, the worst plague that afflicts their fields. But notwithstanding these fences the beasts, particularly if of the zebu breed, often break down the barrier and will within a few hours destroy the whole crop. Fazendeiros have more than once deliberately driven their herds into the Indians' plantations, especially if they were "rightful owners" of Indian lands, in order to compel the natives to abandon the site. Only about ten years ago this was the fate of the Mākamekra horde of the Krahô' and their plantations at the sources of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeno. If the Indians then shoot down one of these pests and consume it by way of indemnifying themselves for the loss of their farm, the stockmen wax highly indignant over such "cattle lifting."

241 Of the wild animals harmful to the crops the dwarf parrots rank as the worst. No sooner has the sun risen than they swarm from their nocturnal resting places in the riparian trees and swiftly pounce upon the crops, screaming aloud. Thus they cause considerable havoc, not so much by what they consume as by the quantities of scattered and spoiled fruit. This applies, above all, to the ripening maize

¹⁰⁰ Nimuendajú, *The Apinayé*, 90.

224 killed, but sought only for lack of all other game. Because of its reputed destruction
 [231] of snakes the people like to keep it tame in the village. Though I have never observed
 these birds at this, a tame specimen once gave me a demonstration of its procedure
 when mistaking my leather belt, which had accidentally dropped, for a snake.
 Furiously pouncing on the strap, the sariema seized the buckle with its bill, swung
 it in the air, and lashed it two or three times against the ground in a manner that
 would inevitably have cracked a snake's spine. Only then did the attacker recognize
 223 its error and let the belt alone. Falcons are killed in large numbers when the steppe
 grass is burnt in June and these birds immediately foregather in order to hunt the
 startled grasshoppers, lizards, and other small species. Falcons are sought both for
 their flesh and their downy feathers, which play a great part in Eastern Timbira
 ceremonial.

224 Snakes are killed with any handy stick, except that a *sucuriú*, which has the
 thickness of a human thigh, requires a sizable club.

483 Game of agouti size, or larger, is carried home in a palm-leaf basket plaited
ad hoc. First the hunter plaits the back of the container, deposits the animal on it,
 and then interlaces the leaflets over it. The tip of a monkey's tail is pulled through
 its lower jaw and the game is then hung over's one shoulder. A man will tie together
 a deer's feet, put his head through the ring thus formed, and carry his kill home
 on his back.

462 The *Ramkô'kamekra*, too, as noted by Snethlage,¹ drags large game no farther
 than the village boundary, whence his wife carries it home.

224 In general the Timbira are still skillful at hunting, exhibiting marked ability to
 581 interpret footprints and great perseverance in pursuing wounded animals. A good
 hunter is prized all the more nowadays because lack of game renders the chase pro-
 gressively less productive. He is a much coveted husband: I once overheard a *Ram-*
kô'kamekra reproving his infatuated niece as follows, "You want to marry him/
 What sort of game has he ever shot?"

224 Collective hunting accompanies the festivals, especially the period preceding the
 527 terminal celebration, which always requires a large quantity of meat pies. Since
 561 this closing ceremony is determined by the council when the duration of the festival
 is deemed sufficient, this decision likewise involves the signal for collective hunting.
 This devolves exclusively on the festive societies and age classes that participated in
 the festival. Each group is accompanied by the two associated girl auxiliaries, who
 are sometimes joined by several female age mates, especially of the "wanton" class.
 At least one man of more mature age invariably goes along in order to advise
 the younger people and to see to the preservation of ceremonial rules. He has
 the prerogative of eating the brains of animals killed, this diet being tabooed to the
 young people. The oldest woman of the society—contrary to Snethlage's observa-
 tion—does not dream of permitting herself to be loaded down with kitchen utensils
 [887] to be brought to the hunters' assembly. Old women calmly wait in the village for
 whatever food their sons or sons-in-law are morally obliged to bring them. I am
 further puzzled by the function of the cords and ropes (both of tucum fiber) with
 which, according to the same investigator, every hunter provides himself.

224 In the collective hunting trips, too, the *tambá'k* (p. 98) play a part, attempting
 791 to increase the yield of the undertaking by first performing certain actions. Indeed,
 they even tried to improve the quality of the slain game by their magical influence.
 If animals were to be surrounded with the aid of firing, a *tambá'k* had to be the first
 to light the fire. He and his fellows, however, did not take part in the ensuing drive.

¹ *Mejia* 1936, 465.

2 [i.e. the sariema - - Analyst]

Nimuendajú: The Eastern Timbira

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Juçara (<i>Euterpe</i> sp.)	Piquy (<i>Caryocar</i> sp.)
Bacaba (<i>Oenocarpus</i> sp.)	Mocajuba (<i>Acrocomia</i> sp.)
Sapucaia (<i>Lecythis</i> sp.)	Mangaba (<i>Hancornia</i> sp.)
Cariti (?)	Cajá (<i>Anacardium</i> sp.)
Guabiroba	Araçá (<i>Psidium</i> sp.)
Bacury (<i>Platonia</i> sp.)	Obco = babassu (<i>Orbignia</i> sp.)
Puçá	

Strangely enough, he omits the palm that is one of the most, if not the most, important of species for the Timbira, namely, the burity (*Mauritia flexuosa*).

Snethlage thus supplements the list:™

Piassava (<i>Attalea</i> sp.)	Paty (<i>Astrocaryum</i> sp.)
Catulé (<i>Coccoloba</i> sp.)	Muricy (<i>Brytonima</i> sp.)
(Various <i>Astrocaryum</i>)	

Of all the species named only four are really important in supplying a sufficiency of food during part of the year, viz., the four palms of the *galeria* woods—juçara, bacaba, babassu, and burity.

From the fleshy layer of the seeds of the juçara, bacaba, and burity fruits the Indians prepare more or less viscid beverages, which are very nutritious by reason of their fatty content. They are strained through little round strainers, plaited from uarumã strips, whose ends are twisted together into a peripheral pad (pl. 20, c). The babassu yields for food not only its strongly oleaginous seeds, but also the indwelling larvae of *Bruchus nucleorum*,™ which we have noted as used for hair pomade. The seeds are pounded in a mortar, and the pulp is rinsed with water, whence there evolves a fatty, white juice, which is poured through the above-mentioned strainer.

Anciently tribes waged war over stands of babassu, as in the fighting between the Krahô' and the Pôrekamekra noted by Pohl.™ It was obviously this palm whose ownership was at stake; for it is especially common on the left bank of the Tocantina.

Ribeiro mentions the mocajuba trunk as a source of food and drink, a use I have never myself noted. On the other hand, the palmitos, leaf shoots, of the juçara and especially of the anajá (*Maximiliana regia*) are occasionally consumed even today.

In times of dearth the Rãmkô'kamekra prepare a kind of flour from the root of the patioba (*Caladium* sp.; Timbira: mriti), which grows in the water of creeks and swamps.

As an article of diet, wild honey is equally insignificant. Snethlage describes the procedure of hacking it out of the trees and pouring it into gourd bottles. I have never seen beehives in Timbira villages.

Except for honey, the gathering of wild food is principally a feminine task; even nowadays women and girls are rather addicted to it. Marching through the steppe, they glance all around, almost instinctively scouring the country, and collect whatever comes near them into a gourd bowl, which they generally take along on such trips. Sometimes a large bevy of girls, especially young ones, jointly roam over the steppe for days in quest of fruits. In order not to miss their customary dances every night, they take a precentor with them, but otherwise decline a male escort and would manhandle any lad who should thrust his company upon them. During one of these marches, in 1933, I observed the following remarkable terminal performance.

During the last period of seclusion of the initiation festival held at the time a dozen girls with the precentor Kaukré and his wife marched about forty kilometers

™ Nordostbras. Ind., 160.

™ Cf. Frôes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 54.

™ Pohl, 2:137.

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152 deceased than she quite suddenly falls to blubbering rhythmically for several minutes. Such lamentation is indispensable if some tribesman arrives whom the mourner has not seen since her loss or who has been away for some time. In the latter case—as whenever I myself return—another idea coöperates: sympathy with the homecoming traveler, who is supposed to have been exposed to all manner of privations, maltreatment, and dangers during his absence. He seats himself on the mat as described above, his kinswomen lay their heads or arms against his shoulder and bawl in the way indicated, actually shedding tears, and some of them working themselves into a profound state of excitement. On one occasion a mother gave vent to sentiments of despondent grief when she caught sight of a feather ornament given me by her daughter, who had died during my absence.

During major festivals lamentations of this sort are always to be heard emanating from some house or other: The inmates remember some dead relative who would have played a part in the present proceedings if still alive or recall a child on whom the role should have devolved. At major log races I have several times seen some age class throw down the log and then at once trot over to the maternal home of their deceased champion runner in order to join his relatives in bewailing him.

DIVISION OF LABOR

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178 As superficial observers are wont to do, Fróes Abreu alleges that Ramkô'kamekra men lead a life of idleness while women labor.¹⁰⁰ As stated in the relevant sections, all hard work—the clearing of woods, hunting, war—devolves solely on the men, who moreover take part in a series of supplementary activities. It is true that the development of agriculture, the recession of the chase, and the elimination of war have increased feminine work and diminished masculine obligations. On the other hand, women hardly gather wild fruits any more and the construction of more substantial houses, along with the rise of a by no means insignificant home industry has added to masculine labor. Abreu declares that the women manufacture baskets and mats (p. 180), yet pictures a matmaking man (p. 58)! His statement holds only for certain special types of basketry; others and also mats, the most important article for trade, are never made by women. Burity mats, large, rectangular food bags and lidded suspension pouches are for the most part of Ramkô'kamekra, in small measure of Apa'nyekra, provenience. They are found in pretty nearly all houses of the central interior of Maranhão and especially in the shops of Barra do Cordo. This industry fails to develop more rapidly for the solitary reason that all trading between the Ramkô'kamekra and the whites is aimed at mutual cheating.

522 The most one can say is that as the children's caretaker and the sole laborer at domestic chores woman is more constantly employed than man. In any case she is far too independent by virtue of her social status to turn into an idle husband's beast of labor.

DIVORCE

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[733] Only a few reasons warrant the rupture of marriage with a virgin—barrenness, grave maltreatment, and adultery. As for the first-mentioned ground, I know of only one case, and even there I gained the impression that the wife's sterility was a pretext rather than the real reason. Excessive abuse of a woman led to divorce in a few instances, all of them the result of alcoholism. Adultery on either side is the commonest reason, though, as among the Apinayé, many spouses are willing to overlook a mate's straying from the narrow path. However, Abreu exaggerates beyond all reason in alleging that "as Canellos desconhecem a fidelidade conjugal"

¹⁰⁰ Fróes Abreu, *Terra das Palmeiras*, 179.